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difficult to say which mode of descent is followed," in the system of Balap in South-West Ambrim, though similarly divided into six sections, it appeared to him that the matrilineal moieties were "absent, or only slightly developed." [1] This is an overstatement probably due to the fact that this was the first class system he met with and that, as in some Australian systems, these moieties, though they exist, appear not to be named.[2] Nevertheless the fact remains that the patrilineal element is here more in evidence than in North Ambrim, and this emphasis is undoubtedly due to the proximity of South-West Ambrim to the predominately patrilineal island of Malekula, whence this increased patrilineal influence has undoubtedly come in such a manner that, without destroying the 6-section system, it has here given it a new aspect by its insistence on overt patrilineal descent.

Added to this is the fact that in both Ambrim systems certain kinship terms are said by the natives to be "not straight," [3] by which is meant that these terms are applied to members of more than one kinship section, showing that the natives themselves clearly recognise that the system is already in process of dissolution, due almost certainly to the influence of the non-class patrilineal organisation encroaching from the south.

Similar Changes in Progress on Atchin

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Similar changes are in progress also in the Small Islands, where, for example on Atchin, one dominant patrilineal descent group has, during the past eight generations at least, been responsible for one innovation derived from the Malekulan mainland after another, in matters not only of ritual, as described elsewhere in this book, but also of kinship. At the time of my visit to that island, one of the main causes of domestic upheaval was the insistence of the dominant patrilocal village of Ruruar that the custom of marriage with the deceased father's father's wife, still practised on Vao and in the other patrilocal villages on Atchin owing to the action of the matrilineal moieties, should cease. This gradual innovation, illustrated by genealogical evidence as well as by accounts of the resulting domestic quarrels, leading at times to civil war within the group, will be fully dealt with in a future volume on Atchin.

[1] Deacon, 2, p. 333.

[2] That Deacon did not himself at that time fully understand the implications of this system is shown by his irregular numbering of the two "lines" or matrilineal moieties within each patrilineal descent group. Thus, instead of using the same number to designate a given matrilineal moiety throughout the Balap system, he represented one matrilineal moiety as consisting of A^1, B^2, C^2, and the other of A^2, B^1, C^1. This error was rectified in his description of the Ranon system, in which, as already seen, the two moieties are labelled A^1, B^1, C^1 and A^2, B^2, C^2.

[3] Compare the similar phrase used on Vao where only the organisation of Pete-hul is said to be "straight," being founded by Ta-ghar, and that the social organisation on the rest of the island is not "straight," having been founded by "mere man" (p. 154).

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611 174 Vao. For, as seen in Chapter III, the existing social organisation in this island is now based not on matrilineal trisections but on patrilineal trisections represented by the three patrilocal double-villages. In this respect the organisation of Vao appears to bear a marked resemblance to that of North Ambrim, with certain additions giving rise to the bisection of the two double-villages.

FOUNDATION OF PETE-HUL–TOGH-VANU EXPRESSED IN TERMS OF KINSHIP

174 It is of interest therefore to note the development of the social organisation on Vao as seen in the stories of origin recorded on pages 81 ff. It will be remembered that the alleged "perfect" organisation of Pete-hul consisted of four Quarters said to be due to the direct action of Ta-ghar, while that of the rest of the island is "all in a muddle" owing to the intervention of "mere man." These four Quarters are said to have been founded by four brothers, of whom the most important were Na-va-gharu-kalat and To-rom-bambaru who, in the light of the foregoing discussion, clearly represent the two patrilineal moieties A and B in a 4-section system, and at the same time belong to the same matrilineal moiety 1, while their two "shadow brothers" Teter-wetaul and Narer-lumture represent the opposite matrilineal moiety 2.[1] This pattern, already expressed in terms of the four Quarters in Fig. 10, may be expressed in terms of an original 4-section system, as shown in Fig. 37.

By the action of "mere man," however, patrilineal moiety B became split, so that half the descendants of To-rom-bambaru and his "shadow brother" Narer-lumture seceded to found the offshoot village of Togh-vanu. By this action the two patrilineal moieties developed into three patrilineal descent groups, two of which remained in the four Quarters of Pete-hul, while the third founded the two Quarters of Togh-vanu. It will be noticed that this gives precisely the same pattern as the 6-section system of Ambrim seen in Fig. 26. Using the kinship formula, the fundamental elements going to build up the social organisation of the Superior Side of Vao may therefore be provisionally expressed as in Fig. 38.

EXISTING MARRIAGE REGULATIONS

582 174 This formulation also agrees with the three regulations regarding marriage that I recorded, namely:

[1] It will be remembered also that these two pairs of brothers represent opposite "Sides of the Stone." For the relation between "Sides of the Stone" and matrilineal moieties see p. 168.

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(*a*) That a man may not marry his FSisD, a regulation which, as we have seen, is fundamental to all class systems having more than four sections.

(*b*) That in addition to the prohibition against marriage with any

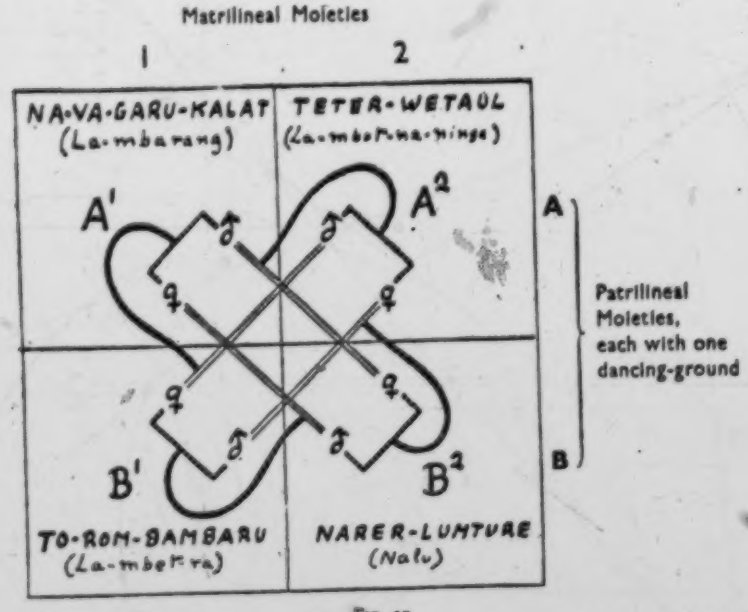

FIG. 37

Diagram showing the probable origin of the 4 Quarters of Pete-hul in terms of kinship. Each of the 4 brothers is here represented as belonging to one marriage section in a 4-section system. The names of the 4 Quarters are inserted below those of their founders. Na-va-gharu-kalat and To-rom-bambaru represent the two patrilineal moieties A, B, each with its own dancing-ground. Both these belong to matrilineal moiety 1, while their respective "shadow brothers," Teter-wetaul and Narer-lumture, belong to the opposite matrilineal moiety 2.

(*N.B.*—For NA-VA-GARU-KALAT read NA-VA-GHARU-KALAT.)

woman belonging to a man's own patrilocal double-village he is in addition forbidden to marry any woman belonging to his mother's, or his mother's mother's "Side of the Lodge" in any other village.[1] This

[1] It is said that if a man transgressed any of these rules either he or his wife would die. My informant Ma-taru told me that it was on account of the increasing modern laxity concerning them that everything had "gone wrong" and the people were dying out. He himself had been perfectly within his rights in marrying a woman of his mother's village, but not of her Lodge. But she died, and he saw that he must have done wrong in marrying a woman of the same village at all. So in selecting a second wife he sought out one "who could by no possibility be of the same blood as himself," and married a woman neither of whose parents belonged to Vao.

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not only confirms the existence of the three patrilineal descent groups A, B and C similar to those in Ambrim called "my own, my mother's and my mother's mother's," but suggests also a fact which I did

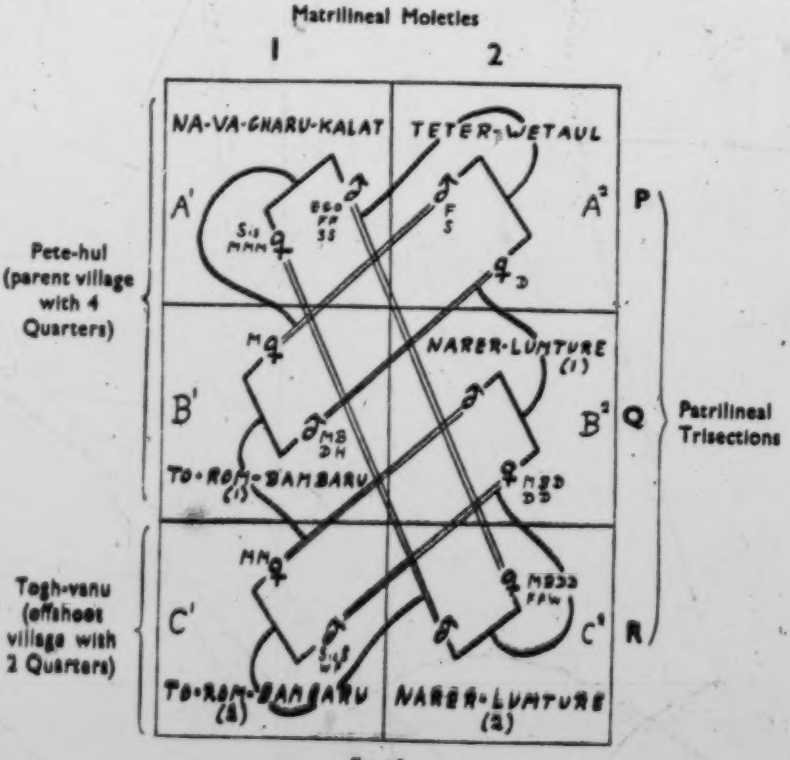

FIG. 38

Diagram illustrating in terms of kinship the probable nature of the split-up of the single-village of Pete-hul into the double-village of Pete-hul–Togh-vanu through the bisection of the inferior patrilineal moiety led by To-rom-bambaru and his "shadow brother" Narer-lumture. The kinship system thus indicated is a 6-section system (Patrilineal Type) similar to that of North Ambrim. This diagram is a purely theoretical one, not applicable to the social organisation as it exists today since this double-village is now an exogamous unit, and depends for its completion on the inclusion of the patrilineal moieties seen in Figs. 39 and 40. The letters P, Q, R are added alongside those of the three patrilineal trisections A, B, C for comparison with those figures.

not record during my enquiries into the organisation of the Lodges, namely that while descent in the Quarter-Lodges is patrilineal the division into two "Sides of the Lodge" may well represent the

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division into the two matrilineal moieties existing within the Quarter-Lodge.[1]

(c) That a man sometimes marries his deceased father's father's widow, since EGO and his FF belong to the same marriage section.

12-SECTION SYSTEM WITH OVERT PATRILINEAL DESCENT

While Fig. 38 may be taken to indicate the basic factors leading to the social organisation of the Superior Side of Vao, it must not, however, be taken as expressing the kinship system existing in it today, since, as has already been shown, this Side of the Island does not stand alone, but forms part of a larger organisation including the whole island. For, while this Side of the Island is in fact composed of three main patrilineal descent groups represented respectively by the descendants of Na-va-gharu-kalat and To-rom-bambaru forming the population of Pete-hul, and of those split-off descendants of To-rom-bambaru who founded the offshoot village of Togh-vanu, these three descent groups do not now intermarry, but form one exogamous whole.

If we now turn our attention to the organisation of the entire island, we find once more the same pattern of culture in the division into two Sides of the Island, one of which has split, thus forming three patrilineal descent groups represented by the three double-villages, each of which is divided into two single-villages (see Fig. 4). The difference between the two patterns is that in this case the three patrilineal descent groups represented by the three patrilocal double-villages are exogamous.

Combined with the two matrilineal moieties, this pattern results once more in a 12-section system similar to that illustrated in Figs. 33, 34 and 35 in that it is based on four sections consisting of matrilineal moieties 1 and 2 and patrilineal moieties A and B, but differing from it in that the trisections are patrilineal, thus forming six patrilineal descent groups which actually exist in the form of the six patrilocal villages, in place of the earlier six matrilineal descent groups deduced from the terminology of kinship.

Fig. 39 represents this patrilocal system in terms of kinship, and at the same time indicates the presumed relative functions of the three double-villages. It will be seen that the form of marriage it indicates is that of a man with a woman who in the direct female line of descent is his MMMBDDD, or third cross-cousin, and in the direct male line is his FFSisSD, or second cross-cousin. This is of interest in that the FFSisSD is (through the equivalence of the FSisH with the MB) also the FMBSD, who is in fact the prescribed bride in the existing system of Pornowol in South Raga, where, according to Tattevin, a man "takes his wife from his father's mother's [patrilineal] clan," the bride being the daughter of

[1] For further discussion of this point, see p. 168.

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generations for the system to become welded into a compact whole. This system has remained comparatively stable for some six generations at most. Even apart from the coming of the White Man, the system would not have lasted much longer, as it would have been bound to succumb sooner or later to the non-class patrilineal influence that is encroaching from the south.

APPROXIMATE DATING

With regard to the question of dates, nowadays, owing to the practice of the older men marrying more than one wife, the age at which a young man can marry is rarely under 20, more usually later. Though the rate of infant mortality is high, there is nevertheless evidence in the genealogies to show that families were large. The fact therefore that the population, so far as we know, before the arrival of the White Man was fairly stable, shows how great were the ravages wrought by periodic famines due chiefly to hurricanes, and to a less extent probably to war. We shall therefore not be far wrong if we assume a generation to cover about 30 years, which is the highest of the two figures usually used in reckoning dates in Polynesia.

On this computation, and assuming the boy Naturel (see Table II) to have been born about the year 1900, his first ancestor, To-rom-bambaru, nine [1] generations back, would have been born about the year 1630.[2] At the time of the foundation of Pete-hul, To-rom-bambaru and his elder brother Na-va-gharu-kalat were men in authority. If, therefore, we take their ages to have been then about 50, we arrive at the year 1680 as the approximate date at which the foundation took place.[3]

The genealogies which I recorded on Atchin go back considerably further, the youngest boy in the elder branch of the double-village of Ruruar on the Superior Side of Atchin being himself the 17th in the direct male line of descent from Iwas, the founder of that village.[4] This

[1] Omitting Kalo-won, whose place in the genealogy is doubtful. If he was in the direct line of ancestry, this and the following dates would have to be decreased by 30 years.

[2] Godefroy (1, 1933, p. 52) allows 30 to 35 years for a generation (three generations to a century), and has recorded one extra generation, on which basis he calculates that To-rom-bambaru would have been born about the year 1570.

[3] The only other record of extensive genealogies in Melanesia is that of the chiefly house of Sa'a, first recorded by Codrington (3, pp. 50 ff.) and subsequently by Ivens (1, Chap. V). This house was founded twelve generations ago, and it is interesting that the same historical configuration exists there as in Vao, for Codrington records that the founders were four brothers, whereas Ivens points out that the two younger "brothers" were not brothers, but two fighting men belonging to their retinue (p. 113). These two thus seem to correspond with the two "shadow brothers" of Vao tradition. Ivens records (pp. 110-11) one genealogy going back thirty-nine generations. It is to be noted that, just as the Vao system is an intrusive overtly patrilineal one imposed on a previous matrilineal organisation, so also the people of Sa'a, together with their neighbours on Malo, represent an immigrant patrilineal folk in an otherwise matrilineal archipelago.

[4] For details see future volume. Including the present generation and the maternal uncles of Iwas, mentioned below, the total number of generations included in the Ruruar genealogies is 19.